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For conclusion of this Chapter, I say that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any respect in the world, seeing the preservation of the State and Monarchie, doth surmount all other respects, that strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our owne Commodities, and those of Forreigne Nations; For it is no wonder we are overtopped in all the trades we have abroad and far off. Seeing we have the grasse out from under our feet in our fields and pastures.

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A DISCOVRSE OF THE ORIGINALL AND Fundamentall Cauſe of Naturall, Cuſtomary, Arbitrary, Voluntary and Neceſſary WARRE.

With the MYSTERY of Invaſive WARRE.

That Eccleſiaſticall Prelates, have alwayes beene ſubject to Temporall Princes. And that the Pope had never any lawfull power in *England*, either in Civill, or Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſe, after ſuch time, as Britaine was won from the Roman Empire.

By Sir Walter Rawleigh *Knight*.

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A Discourse of the Originall and fundamentall cause of Naturall, Customary, Arbitrary, Voluntary, and necessary War, with the misery of invasive Warre. That Ecclesiasticall Prelates, have alwayes been subject to Temporall Princes; and that the Pope had never any lawfull power in England, either in Civill, or Ecclesiasticall, business, after such time, as Brittaine was won from the Romans Empire.

THe ordinary Theme and Argument of History is War, which may be defined the exercise of violence under Soveraigne Command, against withstanders force; Authority and resistance

resistance, being the essentiall part thereof, violence limited by authority is sufficiently distinguisht from Robbery and the like outrages [illegible] consisting in relation towards others. It necessarily requires a supposition of resistance, whereby the force of War becomes different from the violence inflicted upon Slaves, or yeilding Malefactors; as for Armes, Discipline, and whatsoever else belongeth to the making of War prosperous, they are only considerable in degree of perfection, since naked savages fighting disorderly with stones, by appointment of their Commanders, may truly and absolutely be said to War.

Nevertheless, it is true, that [illegible] Beasts are armed with [illegible] pawes, horns, and other [illegible] ments of much advantage [illegible] weaponed men, so hath [illegible] man to strengthen his hand with such offensive Armes, as no creature

else

else can well avoid or possibly resist. And it might seeme happy, if the sword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of death, could be wholly imployed in the exercise of that Lordly rule, which the Lord of all hath given to mankind over the rest of living things. But since in humane nature there hath no meanes been found of holding all mankind at peace within it self: It is needfull that against the wit and subtilty of man, we oppose not only the finite force of our bodyes, wherein many Beasts exceed us, but helping our strength with art and wisdome, strive to excell our enemies in those points wherein man is excellent over other Creatures.

The necessity of War, which amongst humane Actions is the most lawlesse, hath some kind of affinity, and neere resemblances with the necessity of Law. For there were no use at all, either of War or of Law,

If

If every man had prudence to conceive how much of right were due both to and from himselfe, and were withall so punctually just, as to performe what he knew requisite, and to rest contented with his owne. But seeing that no conveyance of Land can be made so strong, by any skill of Lawyers, with multiplicity of clauses, and provisoes, That it may be secure from contentious *Avarice*, and the malice of false seeming Justice: It is not to bee wondered, that the great Charter, whereby God bestowed the whole earth upon *Adam*, And confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as breife in word, as large in effect, hath bred much quarrell of interpretation.

Gen. Cap. 1. ver. 28.

Surely howsoever the Letter of that Donation, may be unregarded by the most of men, yet the sense thereof is so imprinted in their hearts, And so passionatly imbraced by their greedy

desires, As if every one laid claime for himself unto that, which was conferred upon all.

This appeared in the *Gaules*, who falling upon *Italy* under their Captaine *Brennius*, told the Roman Ambassadours plainly that prevalent arms were as good as any title, and that valiant men might account to be their owne as much as they could get; That they wanting Land therewith to sustaine their people, And the *Tuscanes*, having more then enough, It was their meaning to take what they needed by strong hand, if it were not yeilded quietly. Now if it be well affirmed by Lawyers, that there is no taking of possession more just, then *In vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land unhabited, As our Countrymen have lately done in the Summer Ilands: Then may it be inferred, that this demand of the *Gaules*, held more of reason then could be discerned at the first view.

For if the title of occupiers be good in a Land unpeopled, why should it be bad accounted in a Country Peopled over thinly? should one family or one thousand hold possession of all the Southerne, undiscovered continent, because they had seated themselves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the *Straits* of *Magalane*? why might not the like be done in *Africk*, in *Europe*, or in *Asia*? If this were most absurd to imagine, Let then any man wisdome determine by lessening the Territory, and increasing the number of Inhabitants, what proportion is requisite to the peopling of a Region in such manner, That the Land shall be neither too narrow for those whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater multitude; Untill this can be concluded and agreed upon, one maine and fundamentall cause of the most grievous Warre that can be imagined, is not like to be taken from the Earth.

were perhaps enough in reason to succour with victualls and other helps, a vast multitude compelled by necessity to seeke a new seate, or to direct them unto a Country able to receive them: But what shall perswade a mighty Nation to travaile so farre by Land, or Sea, over Mountaines, Deserts, And great Rivers, with their Wives and Children, when they are, or thinke themselves powerfull enough to serve themselves neerer hand, and inforce others into the Labour of such a Journey? I have briefely shewed in an other worke, that the miseries accompaning this kind of War, are most extreame. For as much as the *Invaders* cannot otherwise be satisfied then by rooting out or expelling the Nation upon which they fall.

Generall History, Lib. 2. Cap. 2. 28. §. 4. T. 3.

And although the uncertainty of tenure, by which all worldly things are held, minister very unpleasant medita-

 tion;

tion; yet is it most certaine that within 1200. yeares last past, all or the most of *Kingdomes* to us knowne, have throughly felt the calamities of such forcible trasplantations, being either overwhelmed by new Collonies that fell upon them, or driven, as one wave is driven by an other, to seeke new seates, having lost their owne.

Our Westerne parts of *Europe* indeed have cause to rejoyce, and give praise to *God*, for that we have been free about 600 yeares, from such Inundations As were those of the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, and *Vandalls*, yea from such as were those of our owne Ancestors, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, But howsoever we have together with the suckling, lost the very memory of such wretchednesse, as our Fore-fathers endured by those Wars, of all others the most cruell. Yet are there few *Kingdomes* in all Asia that have not been ruined by such overflowing multi-

nules within the same space of these last six hundred yeares.

It were an endlesse labour to tell how the *Turks*, and *Tartars* falling like *Locusts* upon that quarter of the world, having spoiled every where, and in most places Eaten up all, as it were by the roots, Consuming together both the Princes formerly Reigning and a world of people, the very names, language and memory of former times. Suffice it that when any Country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it, there is a naturall necessity compelling it to disburthen it self and lay the Load upon others, by right or wrong. For (to omit the danger of Pestilence often visiting those which live in a throng) there is no misery that urgeth men so violently unto desperate courses, and contempt of death, as the Torments or Threats of famine: whereof the Warre that is grounded upon this generall remediless necessity,

sity, may be tearmed the generall, the Remedilesse, or the neces-
First Warre. sary War. Against which that our Country is better provided (as may be showed hereafter) Then any civill Nation to us knowne, we ought to hold it a great blessing of God, And carefully retaine the advantages which he hath given us now.

Besides this remedilesse or necessary Warre, which is frequent,
Second Warre. There is a Warre voluntary, and Customeable, unto which the offering party is not compelled. And this Customary Warre, which troubleth all the world, giveth little respite or breathing time of peace doth usually borrow pretence from the necessary to make it self appear more honest. For Covetous Ambition thinking all too little which presently it hath, supposeth it self to stand in need of all which it hath not.

Wherefore if two bordering Pro-

es have their Territory meeting on an open Champaigne, the more mighty will continually seeke occasion, to extend his limits unto the further border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountaines they will fight for the mastery of the passages of the Tops, And finally for the Towns that stand upon the roots.

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges, And thinke themselves not well assured untill they have fortified the further banck.

Yea the Sea it selfe must be very broad, barren of fish, and void of little Islands interjacent, else will it yeild plentifull argument of quarrell to the Kingdomes which it severeth.

All this proceeds from desire of having, and such desire from feare of want.

Hereunto may be added, That in these Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found, some small mea-

sure of necessity, though it seldome be observed, perhaps, because it extendeth not so far, as to become publique. For where many younger sonnes of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor means to uphold themselves, and where many men of Trade or usefull possessions, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of Imployment, there can it not be avoided that the whole body of the State (howsoever otherwise healthfully disposed) should suffer anguish by the greivance of those ill affected Members.

It sufficeth not that the Country hath wherewith to susteine even more then live upon it, if means be wanting whereby to drive convenient participation of the generall store unto a great number of well deservers.

In such cases there will be complaining, Commiseration, and finally murmur (as men are apt to lay the blame of those evills whereof they know the

ground upon publike misgovernment) unlesse order be taken for some redresse by the sword of Injury, supposed to be done by Forreigners, whereto the discontented sort give commonly a willing eare. And in this case I think it was, that the great Cardinall *Francis de Amiens* who governed *Spaine* in the minority of *Charls* the fift, hearing tell that 8000. *Spaniards* were lost in the enterprise of *Algier*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the matter: Affirming, that *Spaine* stood in need of such evacuation, forreigne Warre serving (as King *Ferdinand* had been wont to say) like a potion of *Rubarbe*, to wash away Choler from the body of the Realme.

Certainly among all Kingdomes of the earth, we shall scarce find any that stands in lesse need then *Spaine*, of having the veines opened by an enemies sword: The many Colonies which it sends abroad so well preser-

ving it from ſwelling humors.

Yet is not that Country thereby diſpeopled, but mainteineth ſtill growing upon it (like a tree, from whose plants to fil a whole *Orchard*,) have been taken as many, as it can well nouriſh.

And to ſay what I think, if our King *Edward* the third, had proſpered in his French Wars and peopled with Engliſh the Towns which he won, As he began at *Calice* driving out the *French*, the Kings his Succeſſors, holding the ſame courſe would by this time have filled all *France*, with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Iſland.

The like may be affirmed upon like ſuſpition of the *French* in *Italy*, or almoſt of any others, as having been verified by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbarie*; What is then become of ſo huge a multitude as would have over ſpread a great part of the Continent? ſurely they dyed not

of old age, nor went out of the world by the ordinary wayes of nature. But famine and contagious diseases, the sword, the halter, and a thousand mischiefs have Consumed them.

Yea many of them perhaps were never borne: for they that want means to nourish Children will abstaine from marriage, or (which is all one) they cast away their bodies upon rich old women: or otherwise make unequall or unhealthy Matches for gaine, or because of poverty they thinke it a blessing, which in nature is a curse, to have their wives barren.

Were it not thus, *Arithmeticall* progression might easily demonstrate, how fast mankind would increase in multitude, overpassing as miraculous (though indeed naturall) that example of the *Israelites*, who were multiplyed in 215. yeares, from seaventie unto 600000. able men. Hence we may observe, that the very propagation of our

kind,

kind, hath with it a strong insensive even of those daily Wars, which afflict the earth. And that Princes excusing their drawing the sword by devised pretences of necessity, speake often more truly then they are aware, there being indeed a great necessity, though not apparent, as not extending to the generality, but resting upon private heads.

Wherefore other cause of Warre meerly naturall there is none, then want of roome upon the earth, which pinching a whole nation, begets the remediless Warre, vexing only some number of particulars, It draws on the Arbitrary: But unto the kindling of Arbitrary Warre, there are many other motives. The most honest of these is, feare of harme and prevention of danger. This is just and taught by nature, which labours more strongly in removing evill, then in pursuit of what is requisite unto her good.

Never

Neverthelesse, because Warre cannot be without mutuall violence: It is manifest, that allegation of danger and feare serves only to excuse the suffering part, the wrong doer being carried by his owne will. So the Warre thus caused proceeds from nature, not altogether but in part.

A second motive is, Revenge of injury susteined; This might be avoided if all men could be honest; otherwise not. For Princes must give protection to their Subjects and adherents; when worthy occasion shall require it, else will they be held unworthy, and unsufficient: then which there can be to them no greater perill.

Wherefore *Cæsar* in all deliberations where difficulties and dangers threatned on the one side, and the opinion that there should be in him *Parum Præsidii* little safeguard, for his friends, was doubted on the other side, alwayes chose rather to venture upon

extreamities then to have it thought that he was a weake protector. Yea by such maintenance of their dependants, Many Noblemen in all formes of Government, and in every mans memory have kept themselves in greatnesse with little help of any other vertue. Neither have meere Tyrants been altogether careleſſe to maintaine free from oppreſſion of ſtrangers, thoſe Subjects of theirs, whom themſelves have moſt baſely eſteemed and uſed as no better then ſlaves. For there is no maſter that can expect good ſervice from his bondſlaves, if he ſuffer them to be beaten and daily ill intreated by other men: To remedy this, it were needfull that Juſtice ſhould every where bee duly miniſtred aſwell to ſtrangers as to *Denizons*. But contrariwiſe we find, that in many Countreys (as *Muſcouia* and the like) the Lawes of the Adminiſtration of them are ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, as they

fill

fill the generall voice with complaint and exclamation.

Sir *Thomas Moore* said, (whether more pleasantly or truely I know not) that a trick of Law had no lesse power then the wheele of fortune, to lift men up, or cast them downe.

Certainly with more patience men are wont to endure the losses that befell them by meere casualty, then the damages which they susteine by means of injustice, Because these are accompanied with sense of indignity, whereof the other are free: when Robbers break open a mans house and spoile it, they tell the owner plainly that money they want, and money they must have: But when a Judge corrupted by reward, hatred, favour, or any other passion, takes both house and Land from the rightfull owner, And bestowes them upon some friend of his owne, or of his favorite; He saies, that the rules of Justice will have it so, that it is the

voice

voice of the Law, the Ordinance of God himselfe. And what else doth he herein, then by a kind of Circumlocution tell his humble suppliants that he holds themselves Idiots or base wretches not able to get releife; must it not astonish and vex withall, any man of a free spirit when he sees none other difference betweene the Judge and the Theefe, then in the manner of performing their exploits? as if the whole being of Justice consisted in point of formality. In such case an honest Subject will either seeke remedy by ordinary courses, or awaite his time untill God shall place better men in office, and call the oppressors to account. But a stranger wil not so, he hath nothing to do with the affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him what officer be placed or displaced in *Taradante*, or whether *Mulisidian* himself can contemne the Kingdome, his Ship and goods are unjustly taken from him,

and

and therefore he will seeke leave to right himselfe if he can, and returne the injury ten fold, upon the whole Nation from which he received it. Truth it is, that men are sooner weary to dance attendance at the Gates of forreigne Lords, then to tarry the good leisure of their own Magistrates; Nor doe they beare so quietly the losse of some parcell confiscated abroad, as the greater detriment which they suffer by some prowling *Vice-Admirall*, *Customer*, or publique minister at their returne.

Whether this proceed from the Reverence which men yeild unto their proper Governour, I will not here define, or whether excesse of trouble in following their causes far from home, or whether from despaire of such redresse, as may be expected in their owne Country, in the hoped reformations of disorders, or whether from their more unwillingnesse to disturbe

the Domesticall then the forreigne quiet by loud exclamations, or whether perhaps their not daring to mutter against the Injustice of their owne Rulers, though it were shamefull, for feare of faring worse, and of being punished for *Scandalum Magnatum*: As slanderers of men in authority, whersoever it comes; As there can be but one Allegeance, so men are apt to serve no more then they needs must. According to that of the Slave in an old Comœdie: *Non sum servus publicus*, my Master bought me for himself, and I am not every mans man.

And this opinion, there is no Prince unwilling to mainetaine in his owne Subjects. Yea such as are most Rigorous to their owne, Doe never find it safe to be better unto strangers, because it were a matter of dangerous Consequence, that the People should thinke all other Nations to be in better case then themselves. The breed

it,

is Oppreſſion in many places weares the Robes of Juſtice, which Dominee-ring over the naturalls, may not ſpare ſtrangers. And ſtrangers will not endure it, but cry out unto their owne Lords for releife by the Sword. Wherefore the Motive of revenging injuries is very ſtrong, though it meerly conſiſt in the will of man, without any inforcement of nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is uſually concurrent therewith, A hopefull expectation of gaine. For of the ſpoyle recovered, Little or nothing redreſs to thoſe that had ſuffered the wrong, but commonly all runs into the Princes Coffers. Such examples as was that of our late Queen *Elizabeth* of moſt famous memory, are very rare. Her Majeſtie when the goods of our Engliſh Merchants were attached by the Duke of *Alva*, in the *Netherlands*, And by King *Philip* in *Spaine*, arreſted, Likewiſe

Anno Domini 1569.

Likewise the goods of the *Low dutch* here in *England*, that amounted unto a greater value: Neither was she contented that her Subjects should right themselves as well as they could, upon the *Spaniards* by Sea, But having brought King *Philip* within foure or five years, to better reason, though not so far as to Restitution; She satisfied her owne Merchants to the full, for all their losses out of the *Dutchmens* goods, and gave back to the Duke what was remayning. This among many thousand of her Royall Actions, that made her glorious in all Nations, though it caused even strangers in their speech and writing to extoll her Princely Justice, to the skies; yet served it not as a President for others of lesse vertue to follow. *Anno. 1573.*

It were more costly to take patterne from those Acts, which gave Immortall renowne to that great Queen, then

to imitate the thirsty dealing of that *Spanish Duke*, in the self same busines, who kept all to his owne use, or his Masters, Restoring to the poore *Dutch* Merchants not one penny. It falls out many times indeed, that a Prince is driven to spend far more of his treasure in punishing by War the wrongs of his people, Then the losse of his People did amount unto. In such cases it is reason, that he satisfy himself, and let the people (whereto commonly they are apt) rest contented with the sweetnesse of revenge.

But when victory makes large amends for all, it Royally becomes a Prince, to satisfy those for whose satisfaction he undertooke the Warre. For besides the purpose it were now, to teach how victory should be used, or the gaines thereof Communicated to the generall content. This being only brought into shew, that the profit thereby gotten, is a stirring pro-

vocation to the redresse of Injuries by the sword. As for the redresse of Injuries done unto Princes themselves, it may conveniently (though not alwayes, for it were miserable injustice to deny leave to Princes of maintaining their owne honour) be referred unto the third motive of Arbitrary Warres, which is meere Ambition.

This is and ever hath been that true cause of more Warres, then have troubled the world upon all other occasions whatsoever, though in least part to nature, or urgent necessity of State. I call not here alone by the name of Ambition, that veine glorious humour, which openly professeth to be none other, and vaunts it selfe of imperiall vertue (for the examples are not many of that kind:) But whose occasion of Warre is greedily sought, or being very slight, is gladly entertained, for that increase of Dominion

is hoped thereby, we should rather impute the Warre to the scope at which it aimeth: then to any idle cause pretended.

The *Romans* feared lest they of of *Carthage* by winning *Messana* should soone get the mastery over all *Sicilie*, And have a faire entrance at pleasure into *Italy*: Which to prevent they made a Warre upon the *Carthaginians*, this feare I call Ambition, Had they not trusted in their own Armes, hoping thereby to enlarge their empire, but being weaker, and more afraid, indeed, they would have feared lesse.

For Colour of this Warre they tooke the *Mamertines*, A Crewe of Theeves, and cut throats into their protection; Whom being their associates they must needs defend. But had not their Ambition been mightier then their Justice, they would have endeavoured to punish these *Mamer-*

tines, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like examples: *Know ye not* (said *Ahab*) *that Ramoth Gilead is ours*? He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till opinion of his forces, made him looke into his right. And of this nature (though some worse then other in degree) are claims of old forgotten tribute or of some acknowledgements due perhaps to the Ancestors of a vanquished *King*, And long after challenged by the Heirs of the *Conqueror*; broken titles to *Kingdomes* or Provinces, Mainetenance of friends, and Partizans, pretenced wrongs, and indeed, whatsoever it pleased him to alleadge that thinketh his owne sword sharpest: But of old time (perhaps before *Helen* of *Greece* was borne) Women have been the common Arguments of these Tragedies. As of late Ages in our parts of the world, since the names of *Guelfi* and *Ghibelini*, were heard, The right

of St. Peter, that is the Popes Revenews and Authority.

This last and other of the same kind I know not, how patiently they will endure to be ranged among Ambitious quarrels: For the Warre that hath such foundation, will not only be reputed, free from worldly Ambition, Just, and honourable, But holy, and meritorious: having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Release from Purgatory, And the promises of the life to come; As may be seen in the Popes *Cruciata*.

The truth is, that the *Saracenes* affirme no lesse of the Warres, which either they make against *Christians*, or which arise between themselves from difference of Sect. And if every man had his due, I thinke the honour of devising first this Doctrine: That *Religion* ought to be inforced upon men by the sword, would be found appertaining to *Mahomet* the false Prophet,

sure, it is, that he and the Caliphes following him obteined thereby in a short space a mighty Empire, which was in faire way to have inlarged, untill they fell out among themselves. Not for the *Kingdome of Heaven*, But for *Dominion upon Earth*. And against these did the Popes, when their authority grew powerfull in the West, incite the Princes of *Germany*, *England*, *France*, and *Italie*. Their chiefe enterprise was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*. In which worthy, but extreamely difficult action, it is lamentable to Remember, what abundance of noble *Blood* hath been shed, with very small benefit unto the Christian State.

The Recovery of *Spaine* (where the better part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*) had been a worke more available to the men of *Europe*, more easily maintained with supplies, more aptly serving to advance any following

lowing enterprise upon *Kingdomes* further removed, more free from hazard, and Requiring lesse expence of Blood. But the honourable piety of the undertakers could not be terrified by the face of danger, nor diverted from this to a more commodious businesse, by any motives of profit or facility, for the Pulpits did sound in every Parish *Church* with the praises of that voyage, as if it were a matter, otherwise far lesse highly pleasing unto God, to beare Armes for defence of his truth against prosecutors, or for the Deliverance of poore *Christians* oppressed with slavery, then to fight for that selfe same Land, wherein our Blessed *Saviour* was borne and Dyed: By such perswasions a marvellous number were excited to the Conquest of *Palestina* which with singular vertue they performed (though not without exceeding great losse of men) and held that *Kingdome* some few generations.

But

But the Climate of *Syria*, the far distance from the strength of *Christendome*, And the neer Neighbourhood of those that were most puissant among the *Mahometans*, caused that famous enterprise, after a long continuance of terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The care of *Jerusalem* being laid aside, it was many times thought needfull to represse the growing power of the *Turke* by the joint forces of all *Christian Kings* and Commonwealths, And hereto the *Popes* have used much perswasion and often published their *Crociata* with pardon of sins to all that would adventure in a worke so Religious. Yet have they effected little or nothing, and less perhaps are ever like to doe. For it hath been their Custome so shamefully to misuse the fervent zeale of men to Religious Armes by converting the Monies, that have been Le-

vyed

vyed for such Wars, to their owne services, and by stirring up *Christians* one against an other, yea against their owne naturall *Princes*, under the like pretences of serving *God* and the *Church*, that finally men waxed weary of their turbulent spirits, And would not believe that *God* was carefull to maineraine the *Pope* in his quarrells, or that Remission of sins past, was to be obteined by Commiting more and more grievous, at the instigation of his suspected holinesse.

Questionlesse there was great reason, why all discreet *Princes* should beware of yeilding hasty beliefe to the Robes of Sanctimonie.

It was the Rule of our Blessed *Saviour*, *By their works you shall know them*, what the works of those that occupied the *Papacie*, have been since the dayes of *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* who first enabled them with Temporall donation. The *Italian* writers have

have testified at large. Yet were it needlesse to Cite *Machiavell*, who hath Recorded their doings, and is therefore the more hatefull, or *Guicciardine*, whose works they have gelded, as not enduring to heare all that he hath written, though he spake enough in that which remains. What History shall we Read (excepting the *Annales* of *Cæsar Baronius*, And some books of *Fryars*, or *Fryarly Parasites*) which mentioning their Acts doe not leave witnesse of their ungodly dealing in all quarters.

How few *Kingdomes* are there (if any) wherein by dispensing with others, transferring the right of *Crowns*, Absolving Subjects from alleageance, and cursing or threatning to curse as long as their curses were regarded, they have not wrought unprobable mischiefs?

The shamelesse deny all hereof by some of their friends, And the more shamelesse justification by their flatterers,

more, makes it needfull to exemplifie, which I had rather forbeare, as not hoping to deale in such contentious arguments, were it not follie to be mooved in uttering what is knowne to all the world. Pitty it is, that by such demeanour they have caused the Church (as *Hieronme Savanarola*, and before him *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincolne* propheried) to be reformed by the sword. But God would have it so. How farre the Popes blessing therefore did sanctifie the enterprise upon *Jerusalem* is resto in every mans discretion to judge.

As for the honourable Christians which undertooke that conquest to justifie their Warre, they had not only the redresse of injuries and protection of their oppressed Brethren, but the repelling of danger from their owne Land, threatned by those misbeleivers when they invaded.

If the Popes extortions (which were

not more forcible then those of Peter the *Hermits*) added spirit unto the action: yet altered they not the grounds of the Warre, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of Pope *Leo*, the tenth, beare witnesse of this, who out of politick feare of the *Turkes* violence urged a Religious contribution towards a Warre to be made upon them. The necessity of that which hee propounded was greater doubtlesse then any that had perswaded the Conquest of *Palestina*.

But too foule and manifest was the unholinesse of obtruding upon men Remission of sins for money. That the Sums which Pope *Leo* thereby raised and converted to his owne uses, have made his Successors loosers by the bargaine even to this day.

Pius the Second, formerly well knowne by the name of *Aeneas Silvius*, was discernedly reckoned among the few good Popes of latter ages,

nevertheleſſe in a Warre of the Religious nature, diſcovered the (though not the ſame) imperfection.

His purpoſe was to ſet upon *Mahomet* the great, who had newly won the Empire of *Conſtantinople* and by carrying the Warre over into *Greece*, to prevent the danger, threatning *Italie*.

In this action highly Commendable, he intended to hazard his owne perſon; that ſo the more eaſily hee might win adventurers, who elſe were like to be leſſe forward, as not unacquainted with ſuch Romiſh tricks; Yet was not his owne devotion, ſo zealous in purſuit of this holy buſineſſe, but that he could ſtay a while, and convert his forces, againſt *Malateſta* Lord of *Arimini*, letting, *Scanderbeg* waite his Leiſure, who had already ſet the Warre on foote in *Greece*. For (ſaid he) we firſt ſubdue the little

Turke, before we meddle with the great. He spake reason if we regard policy. But attending one to Religion and we not, that he held the Chastisement of one which molested the Sea of *Rome*, a like pleasing to *God*, as would have been the holy warre, against the Common Enemy of our Christian Faith? So thought all the rest of those *Bishops*. And so much more (upon their severall occasions) declared themselves to thinke it, by how much they were commonly wiser men then this *Aeneas Silvius*. And good reason was there that they should be of such beliefe, or Endeavour to make the Christian world believe none otherwise. For the naturall Constitution of their estate (I meane since the age of *Pepin* and *Charlemaine*, or the times not long foregoing, hath urged them all hereto, though peradventure some few Popes may have been overlewd by their owne

[illegible] natures, and thereby have swarved from the rule of policy. To speake in generall, whosoever hath dominion absolute, over some, and authority lesse absolute over many more, will seeke to draw those that are not wholly his owne into intire subjection.

It fares with politick bodies as with the physicall; each would convert all into their owne proper substance, and cast forth as Excrement what will not be changed.

We need not Cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Persous*, Kings of *Macedon* for examples. Of which the former brought the *Thessalians*, the latter would have brought the *Acheans* and many estates in *Greece* from the condition of followers and dependants unto meer vassallage.

Philip the second of *Spaine* is yet fresh in mind, who attempted the self same upon the *Netherlands*.

Exceptions may be framed here a
gainst one, of the honest, quiet, or ti
merous disposition of some Prince,
yet that all, or the most are thus incl
ned, both reason and experience teach
yea even our Cities and Corporati
ons here in *England*, such as need th
protection of great Men, Complaine
otherwhiles of their patrons over
much diligence, either in searchin
into their private estates, or behavin
themselves master-like in point of go
vernment, But never hath authority
better means to enlarge it self, tha
when it is founded upon devotio
And yet never doth authority of th
kind, worke to raise it self unto mor
dominion, untill it fall into the han
of those whose piety is more in fe
ming, then indeed.

The *Leviticall Priests*, in the o
Law never arrogated unto themselve
any Temporall or Coactive pow
Nor advanced their Miters against th

Crow

of *Israel*. They well understood what authority God had committed unto them and rested therewithall content. Some wrangling there hath been of late; The *Popes* flatterers labouring to prove, That the high *Priests* of old were not meerly subject unto the Kings of *Juda*, and men of better spirit and learning have shewed the contrary.

But whatsoever befell in those days, when there was no King in *Israel*, that is, before the Reigne of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, sure it is that the sons of *Aaron* were alwaies obedient unto the sons of *David*, And acknowledged them their Lords. As for the race of the *Maccabees*, that held both the *Kingdome* and the *Priesthood* at once, It falls not within this Consideration; the first whereof (of whom I read) that used the advantage of honour given to him in matter of Religion towards the

getting of Temporal possession, was (
not *Mahomet* himselfe) *Abubacher* h
Successor unto *Mahomet*, This m
having obtained by help of his frie
the miserable happinesse of be
chosen heire unto that foole Im
in his dignity of a Prophet, made
one of his first works to dispoile po
Alisse the Nephew of *Mahomet*, t
heire of his great riches, taking al fr
him by this pretence, That unto wh
belonged the Succession in wisd
unto him also belonged the Suc
sion in wealth. And this grew
sently to be a famous question a
the Doctors of the Saracen Law
howsoever it were then decided, w
now the *Mophti* or high Prelate
is the only Oracle among the
in Spirituall matters, lives and ho
all that he hath at the discretion of
great *Sultan*.

Nevertheless it should seeme
the doctrine of *Abubacher*, hath

[illegible] all force, for the examples are [illegible] in all *Saracen* Lands, of Pro[illegible] or deceivers which got that [illegible], that never rested untill they be[illegible] Kings.

The *Seriph* in *Barbarie*, was one of [illegible] last: who having once acquired [illegible] opinion of an holy Man, after[illegible] found means to become a Cap[illegible] and Lord of a small Territory; [illegible] finally increased his followers, [illegible] withall his bounds so fast and so [illegible], as having made himself *King* of [illegible], he had the grace to tell the [illegible] of *Fessy*, (lately his Soveraigne) [illegible] both *Fesse* and all *Kingdomes* in [illegible] parts were belonging to his own [illegible]; and this he made good by winning all sooner after.

Whether the claime which the Popes laid to a Supremacie over all *Kingdomes* and estates, had not affinity with the principle of *Abubachar*, Let other men Judge that their practi-

 ses

ses to mainetaine it, have been surable to those of *Seriffo*, all Historians do testifie.

For when *Pope Gregory* the second, procured the Citie of *Rome*, and some other places in *Italie* to Rebell against the *Emperour Leo*, the third, what other colour used he, then that himself had Excommunicated *Leo*, as an ungodly *Prince*, for breaking downe Images, that were worshipped in *Churches*; when for this treason *Paul* the *Exarch*, Leiutenant unto the *Emperour*, besieged *Rome* with the assistance of *Luitprand* King of the *Lumbards*, by what other art did the Pope remove the siege, then by perswading the *Lumbard* with a *Tale* of *Peter*, and *Paul*, that had consecrated the Citie of *Rome* with their pretious blood. Thus was devotion made the Cloake for treason? And thus did the Pope first slip their necks out of the *Emperours* coller. Within very few years

ver this, by the like Religious pre-
text were those Princes of *France*,
Charls Martell, *Pepine*, and *Charle-
maine*, won to assist the *Papacie*, a-
gainst the *Lumbards*, yea, to give un-
to St. *Peter*, the most of those Lands
which the *Pope* now holds in *Italie*,
And not restore them to the Empe-
rour, from whom the *Lumbards* had
gotten them. And thereunto *Pepine*,
was perswaded for his *Souls* health.

Yet had *Pope Zuthary* through the
opinion that went of his *holinesse*, done
a notable good office for *Pepine* be-
fore, when he Released the *Frenchmen*
of their Oath to King *Chilperick*, And
was the cause that *Pepine* was chosen
in his stead, by saying, That rather
he should be King who did the Kings
duty, then he that did it not.

In like manner did *Pope Leo* re-
compense the benefits of *Charlemaine*,
by setting him up as *Emperour* in the
West against those of *Constantinople*.

But

But in these mutuall offices, the Pope did only help with gracefull words to adorne that might which *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* had before acquired: *whereas* these Kings used force of Armes to erect the papacy in Principallity; That was held yet in vassallage unto themselves. Now this could not satisfie the ambition of that See, which glorified falsly to be the only See Apostolique.

For as the Reputation of the Romane Prelats grew up in those blind ages under the *western* Emperours, more faster then true piety could raise it in former times when better Learning had flourished; So grew up in them withall a desire of amplifying their power, that they might be as great in temporall forces as mens opinion have formed them in spirituall matters. Immediately therefore upon the death of *Charlemaine*, they began to neglect the *Emperours* consent in their

Elections.

stitions. And finding in them that afterwards feigned of the house of France, either too much patience or too much weakeneſſe, they were bold, within seaventy years to decree, That in the Creation of Popes, the Empe-rour should have nothing at all to doe. Having obteined this, It followed that they should make themselves Lord over the whole Clergie in all Kingdomes.

But the worke was great, and could not be accomplished in haſte, for they were much disturbed at home by the People of Rome, who seeing about Fifty Popes to gather (as maintainers of the Papacie, would now have them called) Mobsters to succeed one another, and attaine by the faction of Cut-throats and Strumpets, St. Peters Chaire, despised that hypocrisie, which the world abroad did Reverence as holinesse.

Likewise the Empire falling from the

the line of *Charles*, to the mighty house of *Saxonie*, was so strongly upheld by the first Princes of that race, as it greatly curbed the ambition of those aspiring Prelats.

Yet no impediment could alwaies be of force to withstand the violence of seeming sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and some other farre removed Nations, had yeilded themselves in subjection more then meerely spirituall, even to those Popes whom *Italie* knew to be detestablement.

As for the *Romane* Citizens they were chastised by the sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what right. Long it was indeed ere they could with much adoe be throughly tamed. Because they knowing the Lewdnesse of their Prelate and his Court, their devotion, unto him (the trade by which now they live) was very small.

Because

Because also they were the Popes domesticall forces, against which no Prince doth happily contend. But finally the Popes Armes prevailed, or when his owne were too weake, the *Emperours* and other friends were helping. Contrariwise against *Emperours* and other Princes, the sword of the people even of their owne Subjects hath been used by teaching all *Christians* in our Westerne world a false Lesson. That it is lawfull and meritorious to rebell against Kings excommunicated and deposed by the Pope. This curse was first laid upon the Emperour, *Henry* the fourth by *Pope Hildebrand* or *Gregory* the seaventh. It is true (as I said before) that *Leo* of *Constantinople* had felt the same though not in the same sort. For *Leo* being excommunicated was not withall deposed; only he suffered a revolt of some *Italian* Subjects. And one may say, That the *Germane Empire*

 deserved

deserved this plague, Since the founder thereof had given countenance to the Popes Rebelling against their Soveraigns the Emperours of Constantinople. Howsoever it were when Hildebrand had accursed and cast downe from his throne Henry the fourth, there were none so hardy as to defend that Injured Lord, against the Counterfeited name of St. Peter; Wherefore he was faine to humble himselfe before Hildebrand, upon whom he waited three daies bare footed in the Winter ere he could be admitted into his presence, Neither yet could he otherwise get absolution, then by submitting his estate unto the Popes good pleasure, what was his fault? He had refused to yeild up to the Pope, the investiture of Bishops, and Collation of Ecclesiasticall dignities within his dominions, a right that had alwayes belonged to Princes untill that day.

It were superfluous to tell how grievously

vously he was afflicted all his life after; Notwithstanding this submission. In breife the unappeasable rage of *Hildebrand* and his Successors, never left persecuting him, by raising one Rebellion after an other; yea his owne Children against him, till dispoyled of his *Crowne*, he was faine to beg food of the Bishop of *Spyers*, promising to earne it in a *Church* of his own building, by doing there a Clarks dury, for he could serve the *Quire*, And not obteining this, he pined away and dyed.

That Bishop of *Spyers* dealt herein perhaps rather fearfully, then cruelly, For he had to terrifie him, the example of *Vteilo Archbishop* of *Mentz* chiefe Prelate among the *Germans*. Who was condemned of heresie, for having denyed that the *Emperour* might be deprived of his *Crowne* by the Popes authority.

If Princes therefore be carefull to exclude

exclude the doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their dominions, who can blame them of rigour?

This example of *Henry* though it would not be forgotten, might have been omitted, had it not been seconded with many of the same nature.

But this was neither one Popes fault, nor one Princes destiny; He must write a story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their dealings in this kind, As how they wrought upon *Henry* the fifth, whom they had set up against his Father, what horrible effusion of Blood they caused, by their often thundering upon *Frederick*. And how they rested not untill they had made the *Empire* stand headless about seaventeene years.

These things moved *Rodolph* Earl of *Habspurgh* who was chosen Emperour after that long vacation to refuse the Ceremony of being *Crowned* at *Rome*, though he were thereto urged by the

Electors.

Electors. For (said he) our *Cæsars* have gone to *Rome*, As the foolish Beasts in *Æsops Fables* went to the *Lyons* Den having very goodly footsteps of their journey thitherward, but not the like of their returne.

The same opinion have most of the succeeding Emperours held, all of them, or almost all neglecting that *Coronation*. Good cause why; Since the Popes (besides many Extortions which they practised about that Ceremony) Arrogated thence unto themselves, that the *Empire* was held of them in Homage, And deale they not after the same fashion with other Kingdomes?

What right had St. *Peter* to the *Crowne* of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Romane* Princes wonne those Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Constantinople*; The same *Romanes* had also been mighty defenders of the Pa-

pacy in many dangers, yet when time
served, the Pope tooke upon him,
Lord *Paramount* of those Countryes,
to drive out one King, and set up an
other, with a Bloody confusion of
Italie; retaining the Soveraignty
himself.

In *France*, he had the daring to pro-
nounce himselfe superiour unto the
King in all matters both Spirituall and
Temporall.

The Crowne of *Poland* he forced to
hold of his *Miter* by imposing a sub-
jection in way of penance. For
the *Polish* King had caused one
Stanislaus to be slaine.

For the death of St. *Thomas Becket*
and (more strangely) for a Refusall of
an *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* whom
his *Holinesse* had appointed, he impo-
sed the like penance upon *England*.

Also when our King *Edward*
First made Warre upon the Scots
Word came from *Rome* that he should
surcease

crease: for that the *Kingdome* of *Scotland* belonged unto the Popes Chappell.

A great oversight it was of Sr. Peter that he did not accurse *Nero*, and all heathen *Princes*, whereby the Popes Chappell might have gotten all that the *Devill* offered, and our *Saviour* refused. Yet what need was there of such a banne: Since *Fryar Vincent* of *Valverde* could tell *Atabalipa* King of *Peru*: That all the *Kingdomes* of the Earth were the *Popes*, who had bestowed more then halfe thereof upon the King of *Spaine*. If the *Pope* will have it so, it must be so; otherwise I should have interpreted that place in *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply and fill the Earth*, As spoken to *Noah*, and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal*, *Homer*, and *Phatta*, the supposed Fathers of the old *Iberians*, *Gothes*, and *Moores*, of whom the Spanish blood is compounded. But of such impu-

dent preſumption in diſpoſing of countryes farre remote, And whereto the ſword muſt acquire a better title, the miſchiefe is not preſently diſcerned.

It were well if his *Holineſſe* had not loved to ſet the world in an uproare by nouriſhing of War, among thoſe that reſpected him as a Common Father.

His diſpenſing with oaths taken for agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, doe ſpeake no better of him. For by what right was it, That *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* won the *Kingdome* of *Navar*? why did not the Confederacie, that was between *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and the *Venetians* hinder the King from warring upon *Venice*? why did not the like between *England*, and *France*, hinder our King *Henry* the eighth for warring upon the ſame King *Lewis*?

Was it not the Pope who did ſet

on the French, to the end that himself might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*? Why was it not the same Pope, who afterwards (upon desire to drive the French out of *Italie*) excommunicated *Lewis*, and his adherents? By vertue of which Excommunication *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* seized upon *Navarr*.

And served not the same Warrant to set our *Henry* upon the back of *France*? But this was not our Kings fault more then all the peoples. We might with shame confesse it, (if other Countries had not been as blindly superstitious as our Fathers) That a Barque of Apples blessed by the Pope, and sent hither for presents unto those that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our English hasty to take Armes, in such sort as the *Italians* wondred, and laughed to see our men, no lesse greedy of those Apples (then *Eve*, was of the forbidden fruit) for which they were

to hazard their lives in an unjuſt War. Few ages have wanted ſuch and more grievous examples of the Popes tumultuous diſpoſition, but theſe were amongſt the laſt that fell out before his unholineſſe was detected. Now for his diſpenſing betweene Kings and their Subjects, we need not ſeeke inſtances far from home.

He abſolved our King *John* of an oath, given to his Barons and people. The Barons and people he afterwards diſcharged of their allegeance to King *John*.

King *Henry* the *third*, had appeaſed this Land (how wiſely I ſay not) in taking ſuch an oath, as his Father had done; ſwearing as he was a King, a *Chriſtian*, and a *Knight*. But in a Sermon at *Paules*, People were taught how little was to be repoſed on ſuch aſſurance, the Popes diſpenſation being there openly read, which pronounced that Oath voyde. Good cauſe

for that King had the patience to live,
like neither Knight, nor King. But as
the Popes Tenant, and Rent-gatherer
of England. But when the same King
adventured to murmure, the Pope
would threaten to teach him his duty
with a vengeance. And make him
know what it was to winch and play
the Fredericke.

Thus we see what hath been his
Custome to oppresse Kings by their
people, And the people by their Kings;
yea this was for serving his owne
turne.

Wherein had our King *Henry* the
sixt offended him (which King Pope
Pius would after for a little money
have made a Saint) Nevertheless,
the Popes absolving of *Richs.* Duke
of York from that honest oath, which
he had given by mediation of all the
Lords to that good King occasioned
both the Dukes and the Kings ruine.
And therewithall those long and cruell

Wars betweene the Houses of *Lancaster*, and *Yorke*, and brought all *England* into an horrible Combustion. What he meant by this, I know not, unlesse to verifie the Proverbe; *Omnia Romæ venàlia*, I will not urge the dispensation, whereby the Pope released King *Philip*, the second of *Spaine*, from the solemne Oath by which he was bound to maintaine the priviledges of the *Netherlands*, though this Papall indulgence, hath scarce as yet left working, And been the cause of so many hundred thousands slaine, for this last forty yeare in the *Netherlands*.

Neither will I urge the Pope encouraging of *Henry* the second, and his sons, to the last of them against the *French* Protestants, the cause of the first three Civill Warres, And lastly of the Leavyings of *Byrons*, in which there hath perished no lesse number, then in the Low-Countryes.

For

For our Country it affords an example of fresh memory, since we should have had as furious Warre, as ever broth upon us, and amongst us, in the daies of our late famous Soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, if Pope *Pius* his bull, Could have gored, aswell as it could Bellow.

Therefore it were not amisse to answer by a *Herald*, the next Pontificall attempt of like nature, rather sending defiance (as to an enemy) then publishing answers as to one that had here to doe, though indeed he had never here to doe (by any lawfull power) either in Civill or Ecclesiasticall businesse, after such time as *Brittaine* was won from the *Romane* Empire.

For howsoever it were ordered in some of the first holy generall Councills, that the Bishop of *Rome*, should be *Patriarch* over these quarters, yea, or it were supposed that the forged *Canons*, by which he now challengeth

more then precedency, and primacie had also been made indeed: yet could this little help his claime in Kingdomes, that hold not of the Empire. For those right holy Fathers, as in matters of Faith, they did not make truth, But religiously expounded it: so in matters of Ecclesiasticall Government, they did not create provinces for themselves; But ordered the Countries which they then had.

They were assemblies of all the Bishops in the *Romane* world, and with the *Romane* dominion only they meddled. Requisite it is that the faith which they taught should be imbraced in all Countryes, As it ought likewise to be entertained, if the same had been in like sort illustrated, not by them, but by a generall Councill of all Bishops in the great Kingdome of the *Abissines*, which is thought to have been Christian even in those daies.

But it was not requisite, nor is, that

the

the Bishops of *Abissines*, or of *India*, should live under direction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*.

Questionlesse, those godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, And of the *Calcedonian* Councill so thought. For they tooke not upon them to order the *Church* Government in *India*, where St. *Thomas* had preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Prester John* (as we call him) under any of themselves; much lesse to frame an *Hierarchie* upon earth, whereto men of all Nations whatsoever should be subject in Spirituall obedience.

If *Constantine* or his Successors the *Romane* Emperours could have wonne all *Asia*: like it is that in Councils following more *Patriarchs* would have been ordeined for the Ecclesiasticall Government of that large continent, and not all those vast Countryes have beene left unto him of *Antioch* or *Constantinople*. But since contrariwise,

wise, the *Empire* became looser, the *Patriarchs* whose Jurisdiction depended upon the Empire, become loosers also.

We grant, that even in the times of persecution, before Christian Bishops durst hold open assemblies, there was given especiall honour to the Bishops that were over the chiefe Cities; That unity might the better be preserved and heresie kept out of the *Church*; But this honour was no more, then a precedence, a dignity without Coactive power, extending no further then to matter of *Religion*, And not having to doe, save in the generall way of Christian love with any strangers.

We therefore, that are no dependants of the *Empire*, ought not to be troubled with the authority (be it what it may be) with any assemblies of godly Fathers (yet all Subjects of that *Empire*, ordeined for their owne

better

better Government)
ſhould regard the Biſho
the Iſlanders of *Jerſey*,
doe him of *Conſtance*
that is nothing at all
French Biſhops refuſall
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to here

FINIS.

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better

better Government) But rather should regard the Bishop of *Rome*, As the Islanders of *Jersey*, and *Garnsey*, doe him of *Constance* in *Normandie*, that is nothing at all: since by that *French Bishops* refusall to sweare unto our King, those Isles were annexed to the Dioceſſe of *Wincheſter*.

FINIS.